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On the cover: The Chrysanthemum Seal or the Imperial Seal of Japan, Gate of the Yasukuni Shrine, Tokyo. Photo: Jakub Havlíček, 2013.

Daniel Topinka, Petr Kubala, Lenka Linhartová

SocioFactor, Ltd., Czech Republic

Expatriates or Skilled Labour Migration? Who Can We Talk about in Brno?¹

Abstract | The Czech Republic is classified as a typical immigration country. Immigration is directed mainly to larger cities, and Brno is the second-largest city in the Czech Republic. In the narratives of local immigration experts, which are subsequently transferred to the public space, the classification that distinguishes two basic categories of foreigners is widely used. The desirable highly skilled workforce contrasts with other foreigners whose economic benefits are suppressed. The highly skilled migration population are known as expatriates, which is used without theoretical reflection and empirical verification. The main aim of the text is to determine whether the term expatriates can be applied in the case of Brno. Findings from the secondary analysis did not help in this. The data on which we developed the theoretical discussion comes from our online survey entitled *The Great Brno Expat Survey* conducted among people from abroad with those who have actual experience with living in the South Moravian Region. The exploratory research itself and the effort to exclude “real” expatriates from its broad framework resulted in the finding that only 15% of respondents in our sample meet the definition of expatriates. The subsequent analysis of latent classes indicated that relatively few respondents appear in the category that is in line with the definition of “Expat” – approximately only a quarter. We therefore decided to propose our own solution – a new typology that would be more in line with social reality. Analysis of the latent classes showed three basic types and demonstrated the importance of the social ties of immigrants. Categorization cannot be construed as definitive, but situational.

Keywords | Analysis of latent classes – Brno – Brno Expat Centre – Expatriate – Highly skilled migration – Highly qualified migration – Labour migration

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1 Introduction

The topic of migration has become a new public agenda in the Czech Republic that has crossed the borders of expert worlds. Over the course of almost three decades after November 1989, it has become increasingly evident that the Czech Republic is one of the countries with a positive migration balance. With some exceptions (decreases), the numbers of foreigners in the Czech Republic have been continuously increasing and in 2017 exceeded the threshold of half a million people. At the end of 2018, foreigners with a valid residence permit in the territory of the Czech Republic totalled 566,931 and the share of foreigners with a residence for 12+ months in the Czech population reached 5.1%. An increase in the number of foreigners is especially

¹ The text was supported by the project “Expats in South Moravia Region: Stay and Needs,” TL01000465, TL – Program for the Support of Applied Social Sciences and Humanities Research, Experimental Development and Innovation ÉTA.

observed in large cities. The city of Brno, although far behind Prague, became the second most important target of immigration in the Czech Republic, which attracts diverse categories, especially labour migration. The so-called migration crisis had no actual impact in the Czech Republic, but it opened up a discussion on immigration issues and established a whole new public agenda. Subsequent demand for scarce labour became another stimulus for the arrival of other people with migration experience and is currently being reflected in the increasing number of so-called labour migrants. It turns out that we still have little reflected data on the subject of our discussions—the foreigners themselves. The fulfilment of visions of Brno as an international and cohesive city cannot do without a substantive discussion on the formation of meaningful and effective strategies and policies that will respond to the presence of foreigners in the city and at the same time address the quality of life of all its citizens. Such strategies cannot be developed, however, on the basis of assumptions and beliefs. It has to be derived from knowledge and expertise, which is based on facts and data—the policy of evidence. This is based on an approach that emphasizes the importance of scientific knowledge gained through the use of methodology and its subsequent application in policy-making.

The following text is a contribution to this evidence-based policy and responds to a confusion that has significant consequences in the environment of the city of Brno. In the narratives of local immigration experts, which are subsequently transferred to the public space, the classification that distinguishes two basic categories of foreigners, is widely used. A desirable highly skilled workforce contrasts with other foreigners whose economic benefits are questioned or suppressed (e.g., asylum seekers, low-skilled workers, lower-educated workers, occupying manual and blue collar professions). It is maintained and transmitted over time by the legitimization strategies used by a number of local actors and institutions that respond to the growing public concern about immigration. Legitimizations seek to justify the presence of part of the educated population of foreigners, a desirable highly skilled workforce that contributes to the economic development of the city. There is thus a distinction between foreigners working in the primary and secondary labour markets, while social usefulness is primarily attributed to highly qualified foreigners.² We were more engaged by the common and widely used term “Expats,” which is accepted without theoretical reflection and has become a wide term for all qualified migrants in Brno. If we are to deal with the category of expatriates, it is appropriate to ask a question whether they are represented in the category of highly qualified migration at all and whether this is a majority or minority representation.

2 Highly Qualified Migration and Expatriates

First, we define the category of highly qualified migration and then expatriates. The definition is important because it will allow us to further clarify what categorizations are adequate to describe the immigration situation in Brno.

There are a great number of ways of categorizing international labour migration; it depends on the criteria that the researchers attribute crucial importance to and which they, in contrast, choose to neglect. Intensifying globalization processes are behind the growing volume of international labour migration. Researchers are examining unskilled or less skilled migration much more systematically than skilled or highly qualified migration. In addition, “migrants [...] at the bottom of the economic scale [...] have been largely ignored in business literature, which concentrates on highly skilled and privileged migrants, often discussed in terms of brain drain

² Daniel Topinka and Tomáš Janků, *Cizinci v Brně. Vztahy, vazby a sítě podpory* (Brno: Barrister & Principal, 2018), 39.

and brain gain.”³ The beginning of the establishment of research activities, focused on the migration of skilled workers, can be dated back to the early 1990s.⁴ At present, such studies are part of many different disciplines within a wider range of social sciences⁵ for which, compared to other disciplines, the interest in the given category of migrants is undoubtedly the liveliest. The migration of highly skilled people is attracting growing attention in policy arenas and academia.⁶ The diversification of research orientations in the listed disciplines, hand in hand with the diversification of the forms of labour migration, is obviously manifested by considerable conceptual diversity, which can sometimes make things somewhat confusing.⁷ We have observed the emergence of a global labour market for various professions and occupations and a process of mutual selection between skilled migrants and skill-targeting states.⁸ As we find out in our example of research of expatriates in Brno, many concepts overlap or occur concurrently, which complicates analytical work.

So what is the basic definition of highly qualified migration? Astrid Eich-Krohm⁹ states that highly skilled migrants are distinguished by having special skills, subject to their field of study and higher education. She links highly skilled migration to the dynamic development of the global economy over the last fifty years. It involves many aspects, such as the strategy of nation states or the individual motivation of migrants in terms of career development. Although at first glance highly skilled migration may look like “successful” migration, it is affected by the dynamics of global labour markets, such as discrimination, unemployment, offshoring of skilled jobs and non-transferable degrees.

The definition of the concept of highly skilled migration is rather problematic, especially if it is derived exclusively from the tertiary education of migrants; the concept itself has many variations and uses different classifications. Highly skilled migration is generally defined as those people with a tertiary education. It has, however, two limitations. First, it is both too narrow and too broad a definition—many talented people will be excluded and many within the category may have few practical skills, second, important linkages exist between high-skilled and less-skilled migration systems.¹⁰ Critics of the term highly skilled migration generally point to the fact that the term refers to various forms of transnational elites, transnational knowledge workers, skilled transients, qualified immigrants or immigrant professionals.¹¹ Mathias Czaika and Christopher R. Parsons¹² describe great diversity in the overall size of labour flows, the skill composition of

³ Yvonne McNulty and Chris Brewster, “The Concept of Business Expatriates,” in *Research Handbook of Expatriates*, eds. Yvonne McNulty and Jan Selmer (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2017), 39.

⁴ Steven Vertovec, “Transnational Networks and Skilled Labour Migration,” accessed March 1, 2019, <http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/WPTC-02-02%20Vertovec.pdf>.

⁵ Sylwia Przytuła, “Migrants, Assigned Expatriates (AE) and Self-initiated Expatriates (SIE) – Differentiation of Terms and Literature-Based Research Review,” *Journal of Intercultural Management* 7, no. 2 (2015): 93.

⁶ Mathias Czaika et al., *High-Skilled Migration. Drivers and Policies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1.

⁷ McNulty and Brewster, “The Concept of Business Expatriates,” 21.

⁸ Barry R. Chiswick, *High-skilled Immigration in a Global Labour Market* (Washington DC: AEI Press, 2011).

⁹ Astrid Eich-Krohm, “Twenty-first-century Trends in Highly Skilled Migration,” in *Routledge International Handbook of Migration Studies*, eds. Steven J. Gold and Stephanie J. Nawyn, (London, Routledge: Routledge International Handbooks, 2014).

¹⁰ Ronald Skeldon, “High-Skilled Migration and the Limits of Migration Policies,” in *High-Skilled Migration. Drivers and Policies*, ed. Mathias Czaika (Oxford University Press, 2018), 62.

¹¹ McNulty and Brewster, “The Concept of Business Expatriates,” 39. Magdalena Nowicka, “Migrating Skills, Skilled Migrants and Migration Skills: The Influence of Contexts on the Validation of Migrants’ Skills,” *Migration Letters* 11, no. 2 (2014): 171–186.

¹² Mathias Czaika and Christopher R. Parsons, “High-Skilled Migration in Times of Global Economic Crisis,” in *High-Skilled Migration. Drivers and Policies*, ed. Mathias Czaika (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

these flows, and the continued agglomeration of the international mobility of human capital, as well as the increasing diversification of such flows over time.

The determinants that influence the arrival and stay of highly qualified migration to urban areas include: preference seeking of individual migrants, firm employment practices and local decisions, as well as state regulatory frameworks. The attractiveness of cities is also conditioned by the outcome of the attractiveness of urban amenities, the wages in the destination city, the movement of firms and the openness of a state.¹³

Expatriates are usually also considered one of the types of skilled migration. The word expatriate comes from the Latin word “expatriatus” where “ex” means “out” and “patriā” means “homeland.”¹⁴ Contemporary English dictionaries define the meaning of expatriate or expat as “a person who lives outside their native country” (e.g., Oxford Dictionary).¹⁵ This broad meaning is narrowed to a meaning that underlines the importance of the labour qualification: “A person settled outside their country of origin (... and in practice) the term is generally applied to professionals, skilled workers, or artists from affluent countries [...], rather than all immigrants in general.”¹⁶ It may well be seen in this context that it moreover reflects the idea that expatriates are often limited to migrants from the rich “West” and/or that they are migrants from the higher social strata.¹⁷ Sarah Kunz¹⁸ considers the term expatriate as unstable and contested, as emphatically embraced by some, and rejected by others. Both the categories migrant and expatriate are joined by a constitutive but not straightforward relationship that is deeply politicised and specifically works to reproduce racialized power relations. The polysemy of these overlapping terms is thus reflective of and operative in racialized power relations in ways that demand our analytical attention. The trouble is that the categories’ relationship reflects the “polyvalent mobility” of race through the use of neutral migration categories.

The study of expatriates has followed the traditional expatriate “cycle” – selection, training, relocation and adjustment, pay and performance and return, with initial attention on the earlier

¹³ Michael C. Ewers and Ryan Dicce, “High-Skilled Migration and the Attractiveness of Cities,” in *High-Skilled Migration. Drivers and Policies*, ed. Mathias Czaika (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 188–189.

¹⁴ Przytuła, “Migrants, Assigned Expatriates (AE) and Self-initiated Expatriates (SIE),” 94.

¹⁵ See the link: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/expatriate>.

¹⁶ Alisdair Rogers, Noel Castree, and Rob Kitchin, *Dictionary of Human Geography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 143.

¹⁷ On this historical legacy, which the concept of expatriate is still bearing in many respects, there is often criticism based on the use of this term in professional discourse. (Anne-Meike Fechter and Katie Walsch, “Examining ‘Expatriate’ Continuities: Postcolonial Approaches to Mobile Professionals,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36, no. 8 [2010]: 1197–1210.) In some cases, even foreigners (expatriates) themselves distance themselves from the use of the concept or designation of expatriate, most often because they attribute a negative connotation to it (Sophie Cranston, “Expatriate as a ‘Good’ Migrant: Thinking Through Skilled International Migrant Categories,” *Population, Space and Place* 23, no. 6 [2017]: 1–12; Anne-Meike Fechter, *Transnational Lives: Expatriates in Indonesia* [England: Ashgate, 2007]). There are cases, however, where migrants expressly enjoy this labelling (ibid., 3–4). Researchers should therefore be cautious because of the nature of their work, as Fechter expresses it pointedly (ibid., 6), “the term ‘expatriate’ is socially contested, politically and morally charged, ambiguous, and is linked to particular notions of ethnicity and class.” Pauline Leonard, *Expatriate Identities in Postcolonial Organizations: Working Whiteness* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010) criticizes expatriate identities particular to whiteness as a result of post-colonialism. She has deconstructed the concepts of white expatriates and their working lives and considers expatriates as individuals whose identities are defined by boundaries within the space of transnationalism.

¹⁸ Sarah Kunz, “Expatriate, Migrant? The Social Life of Migration Categories and the Polyvalent Mobility of Race,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 46, (2019): 2145–2162.

stages, but the traditional assignment, in terms of nature and duration, is changing, with a diminution of the longer-term assignment in favour of the shorter term.¹⁹

In expert discussions, the category of expatriates is most often defined with respect to four basic attributes. The first two attributes relate to the type of stay abroad and the planned length of stay. In principle, it can be stated that the new residence becomes “the centre of their personal life” for expatriates, but the intended length of stay abroad is planned as short or as long-term, but in any case temporary and not permanent.²⁰ The third attribute takes into account the level of professional or working skills and, as mentioned above, they are usually qualified or highly qualified migrants.²¹ The fourth attribute—the motivation to migrate—is divided into two sub-categories based on it: assigned expatriates²² and self-initiated expatriates.²³ We further use this definition of category of expatriates in quantitative analysis and consider it a sort of “minimal” definition.

The expatriate categorization extends beyond the private sector, with many researchers extending research to the public sector, including government officials, army officers, university educators, etc.²⁴

Phyllis Tharenou²⁵ compares the research methods used in three categories: assigned expatriates, self-initiated expatriates and skilled (im)migrants. They represent different forms of long-term skilled international mobility. A) Assigned expatriates are professionals or managers trained by their organization, which arranges and supports the move and, at the end of a set period (1–5 years), they are usually repatriated back. B) Self-initiated expatriates are professionals or managers who move abroad temporarily at their own initiative to seek work. They move without the support of an organization, usually for over a year. They repatriate, often within a decade. C) Skilled (im)migrants are managers, professionals or technicians who usually hold a tertiary degree or other advanced qualification and move at their own accord from one coun-

¹⁹ Michael J. Morley, Heraty Noreen, and David G. Collings, *New Directions in Expatriate Research* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 3.

²⁰ Michal Gärtner and Dušan Drbohlav, “Akulturace expatriotů v českém prostředí (vyšší manažeři versus „český lid”),” *Český lid* 99, no. 4 (2012): 386. Amanda K. Von Koppenfels, *Migrants or Expatriates? Americans in Europe* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 24. Przytuła, “Migrants, Assigned Expatriates (AE) and Self-initiated Expatriates (SIE),” 104.

²¹ Gärtner and Drbohlav, “Akulturace expatriotů v českém prostředí,” 386. Emanuele Gatti, “Defining the Expat: the Case of High-skilled Migrants in Brussels,” *Brussels Studies* 28, (2009): 13.

²² A so-called traditional expatriate is considered to be an expatriate sent abroad by his employer (mostly a multinational corporation) to take up a job in one of the employer’s branches in the host country and work on a predetermined task. For this type of expatriate, specialized literature has adopted the term assigned (or organizational) expatriates (AEs).

²³ This sub-category appeared in specialized literature for the first time in the late 1990s (Jaime Pérez, Chris Brewster, Vesa Suutari, and Petra De Saá-Pérez, “Expatriation: Traditional Criticisms and International Careers: Introducing the Special Issue,” *Thunderbird International Business Review* 52, no. 4 [2010]: 268) and bears the name “self-initiated expatriate” (Noeleen Doherty, Michael Dickmann, and Timothy Mills, “Exploring the Motives of Company-backed and Self-initiated Expatriates,” *The International Journal of Human Resource Management* 22, no. 3 [2011]: 595–611; Przytuła, “Migrants, Assigned Expatriates [AE] and Self-initiated Expatriates [SIE]; Yvonne McNulty and Chris Brewster, “The Concept of Business Expatriates,” in *Research Handbook of Expatriates*, eds. Yvonne McNulty and Jan Selmer [Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2017], 21–60). These expatriates take responsibility for their careers without the direct support of (any) organization and the difference lies in the initiative for the move (Przytuła, “Migrants, Assigned Expatriates [AE] and Self-initiated Expatriates [SIE]).

²⁴ Anne-Meike Fechter, *Transnational Lives: Expatriates in Indonesia* (England: Ashgate, 2007), 2. Przytuła, “Migrants, Assigned Expatriates (AE) and Self-initiated Expatriates (SIE),” 95.

²⁵ Phyllis Tharenou, “Methodological Issues in Expatriate Studies and Future Directions,” in *Research Handbook of Expatriates*, eds. Yvonne McNulty and Jan Selmer (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2018).

try to another, intending to settle over the long-term or permanently. Although this is a fairly simple division, the reality is more complex. It is this text that has become an impetus for our consideration of what category of expatriates we actually work with and what better categorization could be found.

3 Highly Qualified Migration and Expatriates in Brno

More than three fifths of foreigners residing in the South-Moravian Region live in the Brno-City District. This is a relatively high figure indicating that the city is an important place on the immigration map. At the end of 2017, 29,717 foreigners, including those from the EU, lived in Brno; at the end of 2018 there were 31,826 of them. Over the last five years (2014 to 2018), we have been observing an increase in the number of foreigners in the order of hundreds of people. The number of foreigners has been growing steadily since 2013, up until 2018 the number of foreigners increased by more than a quarter—by 28%. Foreigners make up more than 8% of the city's population. The most numerous foreigners living in Brno are citizens from Ukraine, Slovakia and Vietnam. Less than 4% of foreigners were registered in kindergartens in the Brno-město district in the school year 2017/2018, approximately 3% of foreigners in primary schools and 2% of foreigners in secondary schools. At the end of 2017, universities with the place of tuition in the district of Brno-City registered 62,239 students, 21% of whom were foreigners (13,003 persons). The dominant share of the foreign students were citizens of Slovakia (making up three quarters of all foreign students) as well as students with citizenship from Russia and Ukraine. As of March 31, 2017, foreigners from a total of 150 countries were living in the city of Brno. This represents a very varied spectrum of foreigners. The top ten most numerous nationalities in the city of Brno are made up of citizens of four EU countries (Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria and Poland) and citizens from outside the European Union: Ukraine, Vietnam, Russia, the USA, India and Kazakhstan.

Data on the extent of migration of expatriates, that can be considered a specific subset of highly qualified migration, or a completely autonomous category, can be obtained from three sources: secondary data of the Czech Statistical Office and Labour Office, data maintained by the Brno Expat Centre or our own research. The first two sources offer the opportunity to evaluate data as secondary—in the first case the data is collected by the authorities, in the second the data on clients are sourced from organizations that focus on providing services to those who consider themselves “expatriates.” We also present the results of the secondary analysis of both data sources.

a) Secondary analysis of data sourced from authorities

It is clear from the data of the authorities that foreigners are economically very active. As of December 31, 2016, a total of 35,613 foreign nationals were active on the labour market in Brno.²⁶ The 4,203 foreigners with a business license should also be added to this number. Thus, we can say that at the end of 2016, there were 39,816 legal foreign workers on Brno's labour market. The fact is that the total number of foreigners in the labour market in Brno has been growing rapidly since 2011—mainly due to the increasing number of workers from EU countries. The structure of foreigners in the labour market changed during the economic crisis in 2008. While the number of EU and third-country workers in 2008 was almost equal, currently almost four-fifths of

²⁶ Report on the situation in the regional labour market, implementation of active labour policies (APZ) in 2016 and labour strategies for 2017.

foreigners registered by labour offices are EU or EEA citizens. Thus, the economic recession has, to some extent, caused the arrival of foreigners who do not need a work permit. Almost two-thirds of foreigners on the labour market of Brno are EU, EEA or Swiss citizens.²⁷ Thanks to the fact that Brno is a university city, there is also a growing proportion of highly qualified Slovaks who remain there after graduation. Foreigners work in the city of Brno in highly qualified positions, especially as managers, foreign language teachers and university professors and educators. The education profile of foreigners also points to the presence of a highly qualified workforce: almost one third of all foreigners in Brno have a university degree.

According to data from the Labour Office of the Czech Republic, of the foreigners registered by the Labour Office in the Brno-City District as of December 31, 2017, 8,796 persons hold the highest level of education (including master's and higher). The proportion of those highly educated is thus about a quarter of all registered (25.4%). We cannot interpret the situation by designating, however, all the persons belonging to the category with the highest level of education as expats.

More precise information is provided by one of the most widely used expatriate definition criteria, which is employment in a position requiring high professional qualification. In this respect, the Czech version of the CZ-ISCO international categorization of employment can be used, namely its first three categories: (1) legislators and managers, (2) specialists, (3) technical and professional staff. By December 31, 2017, the number of expats amounted to 13,923. Foreigners from EU countries predominate among expatriates (82%, 11,396 people), more than one tenth of non-EU foreigners do not need permission (11%, 1,561 people) and the remaining 7% are foreigners with a permit (966 people). As of the end of 2017, 4,180 foreigners were registered with the Business Licensing Office in Brno, but it is impossible to tell the percentage of expatriate business people from the available statistics, i.e., foreigners doing business in highly qualified sectors.

By December 31, 2018, the number of expats amounted to 15,584 and by June 30, 2019, the number of expats amounted to 16,082. This means that, according to this figure, less than half of expatriates (40.1%) were working foreigners in Brno.

b) Secondary data analysis of Brno Expat Centre clients

The second source of data is the already mentioned Brno Expat Centre (BEC), which specializes in providing services to expatriates. The Brno Expat Centre (BEC),²⁸ established in 2010 and based in Brno, is an economic instrument of the city of Brno and the South Moravian Region, whose role is to support the interest of foreign investors to relocate their activities to the South Moravian Region and thus to develop strategic economic sectors of the region. It is a project of an advisory centre for assistance to foreign experts, founded by the non-profit organization Brnopolis z. s. BEC is supported by the Strategy Office of the Municipal Office of the City of Brno.

The primary clients of BEC are thus the South Moravian Region, the city of Brno and on the basis of contractual partnerships also foreign investors doing business in certain strategic fields, for whose employees (but not exclusively) BEC provides advisory and assistance services. BEC

²⁷ The largest share of this labour force is attributed to citizens of Slovakia who are most often employed as workers in engineering, construction and agriculture. Moreover, due to the absence of language barriers, they also find opportunities in business, services and healthcare.

²⁸ See <https://www.brnoexpatcentre.eu>.

is a sub-project of the Regional Innovation Strategy of the South Moravian Region²⁹ valid for 2014–2020. According to this strategy, BEC's stated objective is to "provide support to expatriates, i.e., to highly qualified foreigners who work or plan to work in Brno."³⁰ The mission of the organization is: "We help foreigners find a new home in Brno and create an open environment for inclusion in the life of the city." BEC focuses on foreign professionals of creative, managerial or research professions who work and live in Brno or are planning to work in Brno. It provides information and consulting services to this target group, organizes educational events and meetings. They publish articles from foreign contributors on culture and details related to life in Brno on their website and publish monthly newsletters for expats.

Concerning the data on the services provided, between 2010 and March 2018, BEC assisted clients in less than 6,000 cases on a variety of matters. Clients who are employed in the Czech Republic most often work for IBM, AT&T, Red Hat, Honeywell, Lufthansa, Infosys, Masaryk University, Dixons-Pixmania and Kiwi.

The analysis used data collected by BEC on its clients since 2010 until the end of March 2018. This included information from the BEC registration database, information from the database of clients who contact BEC (by email, telephone or in person) with a request to answer a question, or with a request for field assistance. Since its inception until March 2018, almost 4,700 users have registered through the website interface of www.brnoexpatcentre.eu. According to several indicators, this group of registered persons consists mainly of male and female expatriates (including their possible family members) who come to Brno (and possibly its surrounding area) and are interested in the services and information provided by BEC.

Since the foundation of the organization, it has been maintaining two parallel databases—a database of registered users of the BEC site and the database of clients to BEC services. It is apparent that the number of registered users of the BEC website increased only very slowly in the first years. By the end of 2014, the count of registered persons totalled 227. A steeper increase has been apparent since 2015, when around 1,000 persons were registered each year by March 2018, and the final number of users thus stabilized at 3,548. Most registered clients came from EU countries (44%), followed by foreigners from so-called Third Countries—Asia (14%) and Europe outside the EU (14%). In terms of gender, male clients outnumbered women (61%), in terms of age, 25–34 years (54%) prevailed among expatriates, and singles (44%) in terms of family relationships. The highest number of registered persons was in the technology sector of the economy (42%) and at the same time they were the most frequently employed persons (66%). Almost four fifths had no or only a limited knowledge of Czech.

The number of clients using BEC services grew only slowly after the establishment of BEC, but slightly faster than the number of registered users of the site. In the first two years of operations, i.e., 2010–2011, BEC records 101 instances of assistance. The year 2012 was crucial for BEC in terms of the increase in the number of assistances—493 instances of assistance were registered. During 2013–2015, BEC recorded the use of services in almost 2,000 cases and from

²⁹ RIS JMK, "Regionální inovační strategie Jihomoravského kraje 2014–2020," accessed March 20, 2019, <http://www.risjmk.cz/userfiles/file/Region%C3%A1ln%C3%AD%20inova%C4%8Dn%C3%AD%20strategie%20Jihomoravsk%C3%A9ho%20kraje%202014–2020.pdf>.

³⁰ In another document of the South Moravian Region, the *Human Resources Development Strategy of the South Moravian Region 2016–2025*, it is also stated that "for the economy of the region it is [...] important to create conditions for the life of qualified foreign workers," whereby BEC is mentioned as an important player in this respect, which provides institutional support for the integration of such foreign workers (GaREP, "Human Resources Development Strategy of the South Moravian Region 2016–2025," accessed March 18, 2019, <https://www.kr-jihomoravsky.cz/Default.aspx?PubID=310075&TypeID=7>).

2016 until the end of March 2018 in another 3,119 cases. In total, the BEC provided assistance in 5,669 cases throughout its entire existence.

The comparison of the “nationality” structure of BEC website users and BEC website clients demonstrates that this structure is similar, with slight variations. Almost half of the assistance (47%) falls on EU clients, more than half on clients from non-EU European countries (15%) and countries of Asia (13%), North America (12 %), South America (6 %), Africa (4 %) and Australia and Oceania (2 %). Other socio-demographic characteristics (e.g., gender and age) are not monitored by BEC. Clients are most often in contact with BEC via email (70%) and more than a fifth of the contacts are in the form of a personal visit (together with 21% field assistance). Most frequently, BEC clients deal with these issues concerning their stay in the Czech Republic, taxes, health and health insurance, job seeking, family affairs and childcare, issuance of driving licenses, further education (schooling) and business.

When comparing data from both secondary analyses, extrapolation of data from the authorities, according to the characteristics of expatriates, led to the figure of 13,923 persons in 2017, i.e., less than half the proportion among working foreigners.

The limiting factor, however, is the fact that exclusively the professional qualification has become the criterion, which is one of the expatriate criteria, but not the only one. BEC has registered approximately 4.7 thousand clients and provided services in more than 5.6 thousand cases over the course of its existence. It should be noted that these are clients seeking help and contacting the BEC, considering that they are expatriates entitled to the services. “However, this statistic does not tell us the 100% truth about the national composition of ‘highly-skilled’ workers in Brno, but can give us an approximate view of the issue.”³¹ The last possibility to obtain data on the actual fulfilment of the criteria of pertinence to the expatriate category was to conduct our own exploratory research, its presentation and results are discussed in the next chapter of the article.

4 Brno Expats Profile

4.1 Description of the Exploratory Survey—the Great Brno Expat Survey

The data on which we will develop the above-outlined theoretical discussion comes from an online survey entitled *The Great Brno Expat Survey* conducted among people from a country other than the Czech Republic and those who have actual experience with living in the South Moravian Region (hereinafter SMR). The design of the questionnaire survey was created in close cooperation with project partners from the Institute of Religious Studies, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University and the application guarantor of the project – Brno Expat Centre. The general structure of the questionnaire was based on the findings from interviews and a focus group conducted at the application guarantor. The main topics were set out here, which then constituted the outline of the questionnaire. The individual topics were subsequently saturated with specific questions. Both closed and open questions appeared in the questionnaire. The respondents could choose from one or more options, to respond through assessment scales or with their own words. The questionnaire was divided into several thematic areas – housing, health care, education system, satisfaction with various aspects of life in Brno, cooperation with agencies, insight into

³¹ Kristína Babíková, “The Term ‘Highly-skilled’ Professional and Practical Context,” in XIX. *International Colloquium on Regional Sciences. Collection of Contributions*, eds. Vladimír Žitek and Viktorie Klímová (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2016), 420.

public institutions, socio-demographic characteristics and others. The questionnaire contained 122 questions in total, while not every respondent answered all the questions.

The online questionnaire data was collected in October and November 2018 from a link (hyperlink).³² This link was sent out to relevant actors and participants. The online questionnaire was distributed through BEC contacts, social networks, information leaflets and personal links between respondents. It was also helpful to contact employers (who also employ persons from outside the Czech Republic) and universities. The online questionnaire was filled in by 1,013 respondents. Subsequent data analysis was carried out using the IBM SPSS statistical software application. A data matrix was created, after the data was entered, and the logical check of data and its consistency was performed.

The Great Brno Expat Survey was designed to categorize respondents into several categories. In the first case, it was a category that included those who had planned to live/work/reside in the South Moravian Region (SMR) in the past, but eventually did not arrive in Brno or any other South Moravian city. Another category included those who are just planning to arrive in the South Moravian Region and who have never lived/worked/resided in the South Moravian Region. People who fell into these two categories were identified in the initial filter and an original questionnaire was developed for them. The largest and in all probability the most important group of respondents were those who lived/worked/resided in the SMR in the past for more than two months but who do not live/work/reside there any more together with those who currently live/work/reside in SMR for more than two months. For the purposes of this article, we will focus on the group that lived and worked in Brno (Brno-město or Brno-venkov; N = 759) at the time of the survey. Respondents from this category also completed the entire questionnaire, so it would be possible to evaluate all the answers. We will focus, however, only on their socio-demographic characteristics, according to which it will be possible to follow the profile of expatriates in the territory of the city of Brno.

4.2 “Expat” Filter Design

The first chapter described the minimum definition of the term expatriate. We have operationalized the aforementioned theoretical definition by means of several variables. Thus we used a different set of variables for each of the four attributes.

A) The Centre of Personal Life (Life Strategies)

We have reflected this attribute in our data in the form of questions that asked whether the respondents live in Brno and whether they work in Brno. We proceeded from the assumption that the “centre of life” is where the respondent lives and works. These were questions 14a and 14b, for which it was necessary to indicate where the respondents currently live and work:

- Q14a *Please indicate where you currently live:*
We chose answers 1 (I live in Brno-city) and 2 (I live in Brno-country) as relevant.
- Q14b *Please indicate where you currently work:*
We chose answers 1 (I live in Brno-city) and 2 (I live in Brno-country) as relevant.

B) The Temporary Aspect of the Residence

We projected the second attribute in the form of a question about the planned length of stay and the actual length of stay. In the question about the planned length of stay, we assumed that the expatriates would want to stay in Brno for less than three years or that they had no clear idea

³² A tool for creating professional online surveys—Clic4Survey—was used for data collection.

of how long they wanted to stay in Brno.³³ We also filtered out those who had been in Brno for more than three years at the time of the survey.³⁴

– *Q25 How long do you plan to stay in Brno?*

Here we chose answers 2 (Less than 3 months), 3 (Less than 6 months), 4 (Less than 1 year), 5 (Less than 3 years) and 8 (I don't know) as relevant.

– *Q24 How long have you been staying in Brno?*

Here we chose answers 1 (Less than 1 month), 2 (Less than 2 months), 3 (Less than 3 months), 4 (Less than 6 months), 5 (Less than 1 year), 6 (Less than 3 years) and 9 (Less than 14 days) as relevant.

C) Professional or Working Skills

We processed the third attribute with questions about education and job position. In education, we counted on the three highest levels of education (Bachelor's, Master's, Doctoral). In the job position, we subsequently focused on highly qualified workers:

– *Q99 What is the highest level of education you have completed?*

We chose answers 7 (Bachelor's or equivalent), 8 (Master's or equivalent) and 9 (Doctoral or equivalent) as relevant.

– *Q112a In what position are you currently employed?*

Here we chose answers 1 (Manager), 2 (Professional—science, medicine, teaching, business & administration, law, culture, creative professional, religious professional) and 3 (Technician & associate professional) as the relevant ones.

D) The Motivation to Migrate

The third attribute was operationalized by means of the question on the reasons for migration:

– *Q27a Please indicate your reasons for coming to Brno.*

Answer 1 (I came to work) was marked as relevant here. So we chose those who came to Brno primarily for work.

5 Comparison of HQM and Expats

If we compile a profile of expatriates by which we filtered our data, it would be a profile composed of the following characteristics. The following persons are considered expatriates in our survey:

- They work and live in Brno (Brno-city or Brno-country);
- They plan to stay less than three years in Brno, not permanently, or do not know for how long;
- They have not been living in Brno for more than three years;
- They are highly educated and work as professionals or managers;
- They came to Brno primarily for work.

Having applied the filter/profile described above to our data from *The Great Brno Expat Survey*, we found that 112 respondents out of a total of 759 correspond to the minimum theoretical definition of expatriates. Since in this case only about 14.8% of respondents from the whole group

³³ In the question about the planned length of stay it was also possible to check the option—for more than three years but not permanently. See below the discussion about adding this response to the filter.

³⁴ We have determined the notional average length of stay reported by Phyllis Tharenou (Phyllis Tharenou, "Methodological Issues in Expatriate Studies and Future Directions," in *Research Handbook of Expatriates*, eds. Yvonne McNulty and Jan Selmer [Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2018], 393–415) for the extent of the assigned expatriate's stay.

responded to our definition, we wondered whether the filter we established was too strict. We have modified the filter parameters with the subsequent observation of the changing numbers of respondents who match the newly set filter.

First we added the option “More than three years but not permanently” to the filter for Q25 *How long do you plan to stay in Brno?* The expatriates in this case would be those who have been working and living in Brno, have come primarily for work, who are highly educated, work as professionals or managers and want to stay in Brno for less than three years, more than three years, but not permanently, or possibly do not know. In this case, a total of 153 respondents passed through the filter.

Furthermore, we excluded from the definition the condition that respondents were not allowed to live in Brno for more than three years at the time of the survey and at the same time the whole question on the planned length of stay. This filter was passed through by 420 respondents. Expatriates in this case would be those who work and live in Brno, come to work, are highly educated and work as professionals or managers. At that moment, however, the minimum definition of expatriates leaves out an important criterion, and that is the planned length of stay.

If we return this variable to our filter, it is apparent that the definition of expatriates, in this case those who work and live in Brno, come to work, are highly educated, work as professionals or managers and plan to stay in Brno within three years, or do not know, is matched by a total of 230 respondents. We have therefore removed the condition that the filter must not include people who have been living in Brno for more than three years. If we add “more than three years but not permanently” to this filter for Q25 *How long do you plan to stay in Brno*, we will have 295 respondents remaining.

From the above-mentioned variations of the “Expat filter” it is apparent that despite the less strictly set filtering, we are always able to capture only a minority of respondents from the entire set. The difference between those who fall within the definition of expatriates and those who fall out of it and who are still highly qualified migrants in Brno raises the question as to whether the application of the expatriate concept is meaningful to the studied local context at all, as it is a less represented category in the social reality compared to what was expected. In this case, it is legitimate to start looking for more suitable categories.

6 A New Typology: Beyond the Borders of Expatriates

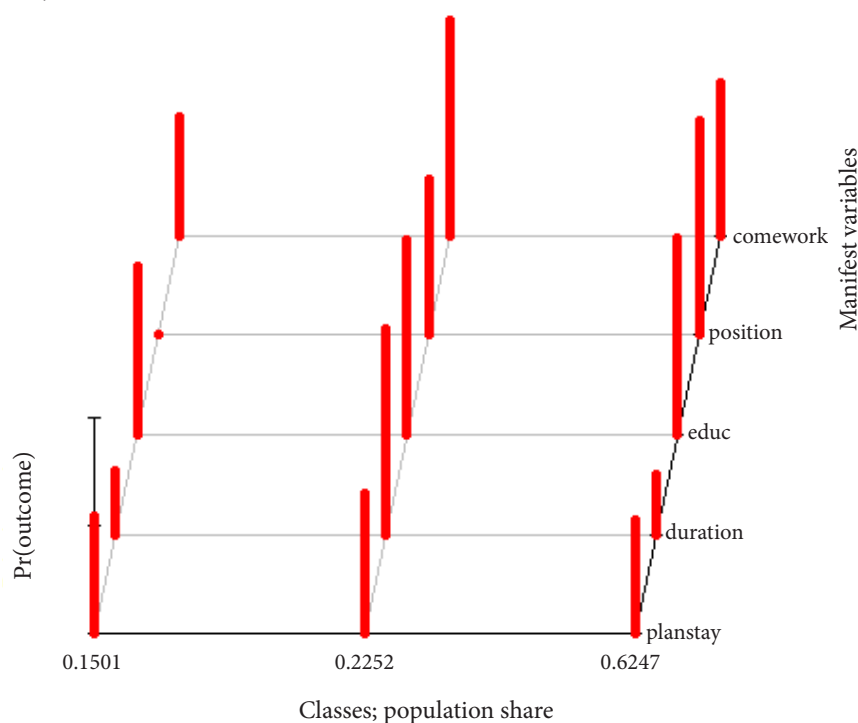
Therefore, if there is only a very small number of respondents in our sample who, even with a less strict filter, correspond to the theoretical definition of expats, then the question arises as to whether there are any other forms of classification of our sample (observed cases) than the classification into expatriates and highly qualified migrants. We used latent class analysis to be able to answer this question. We first checked the functionality of the existing definition, and finally searched for a new, more suitable typology.

6.1 Analysis of Latent Classes: Verification of the Functionality of the Definition of “Expatriates”

We initially used the analysis of latent classes for the variables that we used to operationalize the minimum theoretical definition of the concept of “expat” to verify the correctness of our assumptions (see the previous chapter). The analysis included respondents residing and working in Brno (city and country). The variables were dichotomized according to the following key: 2 = category corresponding to the definition; 1 = others. 759 cases were included in the analysis.

The analysis of latent classes (for 2–4 classes) was applied to key variables (duration of stay, planned duration of stay, education, job position and reason for migration). Three classes emerged thereof as analytically suitable (see Chart 1).

Chart 1: Analysis of Latent Classes, Solution 1



The first latency class with a size of 13% ($N = 99$) included respondents that were more likely to work in less qualified positions in services. It is clear from Chart 1 that the respondents included in the first class (the first vertical axis on the left) cannot be considered expatriates. This is indicated by the low values of the variables, i.e., the planned lengths of stay (planstay), the working position (position) and the actual length of stay (duration). The other values for education (educ) and the reason for migration (comework) are also not high.

In the second class (25.6%; $N = 194$), individuals who would meet the definition of expatriate were clustered—they worked in highly qualified positions, receiving high wages, stayed in Brno for less than three years and were likely to stay in Brno for not more than three years, or have not yet decided in this respect. Figure 1 shows that in almost all categories the respondents in this class are more likely to report values in accordance with the theoretical definition.

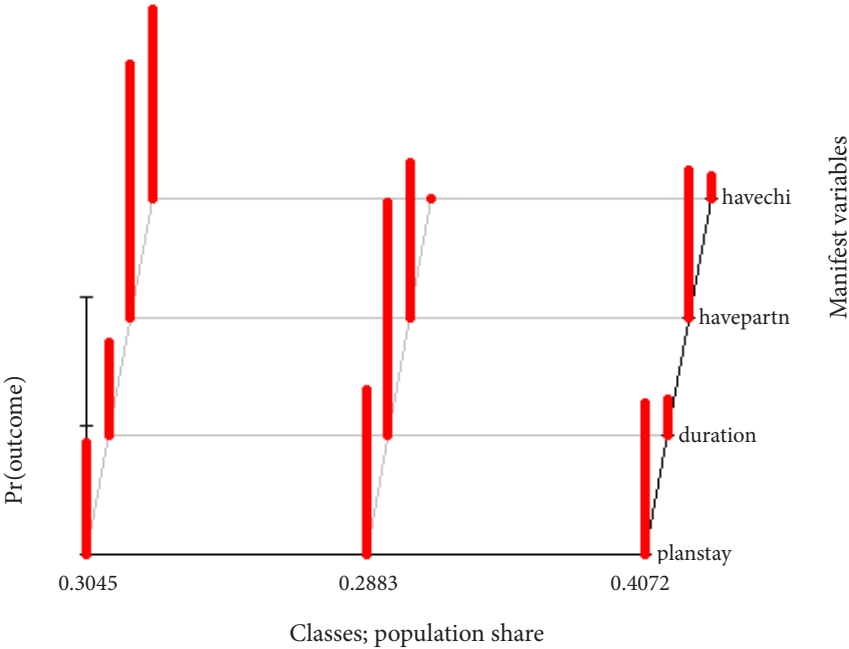
The third class (61.4%; $N = 466$) includes respondents who would rather correspond to skilled (im)migrants, as Phyllis Tharena (2018) labelled them. They are much more likely to live in Brno for a longer period of time (half of them living in Brno for more than five years) and would also like to stay in the city for more than three years and often even permanently. They share other characteristics with class number two. Figure 1 shows that they show high values for education (educ), job position (position) and reasons for migration (comework), while with the duration (duration) and the planned length of stay (planstay) they are unlikely to correspond to the theoretical definition of expatriates.

What do these results imply? We came to the same findings as in the previous section, when we found that approximately 15% of respondents in our sample met the definition of expatriates. At the same time, they were supposed to be respondents who declared belonging to the expatriate category at the very beginning. They were thus addressed by the questionnaire. It turned out that the solution is not to start loosening the definition and adjusting the filter settings in the questionnaire. Even the analysis of latent classes indicated that relatively few respondents appear in the category that is in line with the definition of “Expat”—approximately a quarter (25.6%). The less qualified category seems to be aspiring to be referred to as expatriates, while the skilled (im)migrants category points to the trend of more permanent forms of dwelling in the city, which is contrary to the expected short-term residence. We therefore decided to move forward in the analysis and propose our own solution—a typology that would be more in line with reality.

6.2 Analysis of Latent Classes: a Typology According to Social Links and Length of Stay

The original typology based on the theoretical definition was not appropriate, mainly due to the low variability of the variables – education (educ), job position (position and reasons for migration (comework). In other words, the majority of highly qualified, educated and employed respondents appeared in the cohort. They work predominantly in high positions (managers, professionals, technical professionals) and came to Brno primarily to work. A compelling typology cannot be created, however, from these variables. We therefore further applied the latent class analysis to all the socio-demographic data. The analysis showed that analytically suitable latent classes would appear when using the following variables: length of stay, planned length of stay, and relationship-related variables—whether the respondents have partners and whether they have children. The analysis revealed a total of three groups (latent classes), which were defined in a different way than on the basis of the definition of expatriates. What types are these?

Chart 2: Analysis of Latent Classes, Solution 2



Type 1 – Expatriates with links to close persons

The first latent class, which includes less than a quarter of respondents (24%; N = 182), is characterized by the fact that respondents are more likely to stay in Brno for a shorter period of time. They also show lower values in terms of staying in the city in the future (compared to other classes). They consequently construct their stay as temporary and short-term. Almost everyone in this group, however, has partners (99%) and all have at least one child. They manifest personal ties to close persons. Again, almost all in this group are employed (93%), working in positions requiring high qualification and approximately a third (32%) of them are women.

The results are shown in Chart 2. The first vertical axis represents the first latent class, for which we observe low values in the first two columns—the planned length of stay (planstay) and the actual duration (duration). In contrast, the highest values (in comparison with other classes) are recorded in the columns representing the presence of a partner (havepartn) and children (havechi).

Type 2 – Expatriates without children

In the second latent class there are people, constituting more than a third of the sample (34.5%, N = 262), whose most notable feature is that they do not have children. More than three fifths of the respondents have a partner (63%). Almost all of this group stay in Brno for a short time – for up to three years (99%) and they least often want to stay in Brno permanently. Generally they intend to stay in Brno for a shorter time. This group is on average younger than others and is represented by approximately two fifths by women (41%).

Thus, the absence of a column representing the presence of children (havechi) can be seen most clearly in Chart 2 (second vertical axis). In partners (havepartn), we note high figures, which is also the case for the duration of the stay (duration) and the planned length of the stay (planstay). In these cases, however, high values represent a high probability of a shorter residence or planning of a shorter residence time in Brno.

Type 3 – Skilled (im)migrants with partners

The third group contains more than two fifths of respondents (41.5%; N = 315). They are characterized by the fact that they usually do not have children (only 4% have children), but three fifths (60%) of them are highly likely to have a partner. Almost all of this group (99.7%) stay in Brno for more than three years (of which 58% longer than five years and 41% longer than three years but less than five years). These respondents plan to stay permanently (31%) in the city, or do not have a clear timeframe for staying—this applies to almost half of them (45%), which is most in comparison with other groups. More than a third of people in the group (37%) are women.

Chart 2 shows the almost imperceptible column indicating the presence of children (havechi) and the actual length of stay (duration) in this case representing long-term residence in Brno. In the column of partners, we note high values (havepartn) and the column representing the planned length of stay (planstay) is only slightly smaller than in the second latent class.

7 Conclusion

The text responds to the fact that we as researchers have noticed the overuse of the “expatriate” designation and were challenged by this common use of the widely used designation “Expats,” which is accepted without theoretical reflection and has become a designation for all qualified migrants in Brno. This has led us to a question as to whether it makes sense to use the category of expatriates at all and whether it is identifiable in social reality on the basis of the definition

features present. Data from secondary analyses suggested that the category of expatriates should be abundantly represented in Brno – extrapolation of data from authorities according to the characteristics of expatriates led to the figure of 13,923 persons in 2017 and 15,584 persons in 2018, so that less than every second working foreigner should be an expatriate. The limiting factor, however, is the fact that exclusively the professional qualification has become the criterion, which is one of the expatriate criteria, but not the only one. The statistical definitions take into account the educational profile and qualification framework quite selectively, so the resulting figure suggests that Brno is likely to be a city where both expatriates (but without distinction between assigned expatriates and self-initiated expatriates) and skilled (im)migrants are represented. The Brno Expat Centre (BEC), which is the exclusive provider of services for expatriates in the city, has provided services to more than 5.6 thousand foreigners who have labelled themselves as expatriates. It is evident that even this information on the present phenomenon is not comprehensive, but indicates the number of those who found information about the services provided and subsequently used them. Many did not have to find their way to services, did not need them, did not identify themselves as expatriates, or did not follow this label. The functional definition of BEC clients did not act according to theoretical criteria but according to experience and practical needs.³⁵ The exploratory research itself and the effort to exclude “real” expatriates from its broad framework resulted in the finding that only 15% of respondents in our sample meet the definition of expatriates. At the same time, they were supposed to be respondents who declared belonging to the expatriate category at the very beginning. It turned out that the solution is not to start loosening the definition and adjusting the filter settings in the questionnaire. The subsequent analysis of latent classes showed that relatively few respondents appear in the category that is in line with the definition of “Expat” – approximately only a quarter (25.6%). Our expectations were much higher. What could we say about the remaining three quarters of respondents? It turned out to be composed of two categories. The less qualified category seemed to be aspiring to be referred to as expatriates (destigmatization), while the skilled (im)migrants category pointed to the trend of more permanent forms of dwelling in the city, which is contrary to the expected short-term residence in expatriates. We therefore decided to propose our own solution—a typology that would be more in line with reality.

As a result, we most closely approximated the classification proposed by Phyllis Tharenou,³⁶ who, based on the research methods, used three categories: assigned expatriates, self-initiated expatriates and skilled (im)migrants. What we have in common is that the categories of expatriates and skilled (im)migrants face one other. We differ, however, in the specification of expatriates distribution, because it is not important for us who initiates their movement, but that the importance and nature of the social ties come forward to the fore. The same applies to skilled (im)migrants. In our categorization, the overall emphasis is not only on the external circumstances of coming to the city but also on the effects of social relations and personal social networks. Analysis of latent classes indicated three basic types. The first two correspond to the concept of expatriates, especially in the criterion of a probable short-term stay, but actually the importance of social ties has proved to be true. Expatriates with ties to close persons are experts who have partners and at least one child and manifest personal ties to close persons. Another category are expatriates without children, with frequent ties to the partner. There is, however, a type of skilled (im)migrant with partners who usually have no children but most likely have a partner. They differ from the previous two in that they plan their stay as permanent or do not have a clear

³⁵ Daniel Topinka, Petr Lang, Olga Čejková, and Michaela Ondrašínová, “Skilled Labour Migration: A Proposal of the Conceptual Framework for the Study of Expatriates in Brno,” *Lidé města / Urban People* 20, no. 2 (2018).

³⁶ Tharenou, “Methodological Issues in Expatriate Studies and Future Directions.”

timeframe for staying in the city. Although it is a typology that appears with some degree of probability, it is much more functional in view of the varied and colourful social reality. It takes into account not only the length of stay but also the social links. The importance of establishing networks of interpersonal relationships affecting lifestyles and strategies has been confirmed,³⁷ but at the same time we do not find grounds for a simple claim that the birth of a child changes the path of an expatriate, who then turns into a long-term skilled (im)migrant.

We cannot accept the categorization as definitive, but it is important to take into account the time period and context of creation. There is a need to realize that in all spheres of human activity and life, Brno has undergone fundamental changes since 1989. Over the following 30 years, social and economic development has made the second largest city of the Czech Republic a centre of innovation, research and education. Brno has become an attractive place for many foreign investors and companies. Thanks to job opportunities, a developing infrastructure, the transformation of the labour market, education, investment and the cultural potential, the city is gradually opening itself to the outside world. Brno has attracted foreign entrepreneurs, investors and highly skilled workers. It has become an international and cosmopolitan city, a city that is constantly evolving, dynamic and innovative. The urban economy has grown, attracting new investment and gradually creating good conditions for highly skilled workers, increasing the overall quality of life in the city. Our categorization was developed at a time when the city is offering beneficial conditions in many ways, is still developing economically, demands foreign labour and absorbs a considerable amount of highly skilled (im)migrants. There are many effects of attraction and life strategies which are affected by the multiplication of favourable circumstances and fundamentally changes them. The question is whether the categorization change causes a slowdown in economic growth or a deterioration in the quality of life in the city.

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³⁷ Topinka and Janků, *Cizinci v Brně. Vztahy, vazby a síť podpory*.